



Bulletin of the Department of Museums Chennai

Thiru N. Harinarayana Endowment Lecture

Early Medieval Andhra Desa : the abode of Tamils

by

Dr. P. Sumabala, M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D.,

**Asst. Professor, Department of Historical Studies,
IQAC Additional Co-ordinator, Quaid-E-Millat Government College for Women, Chennai**

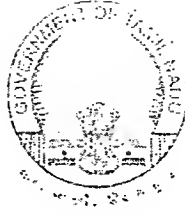
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Dr. D. Jagannathan ,I.A.S.,
Director,
Department of Museums.



Egmore, Chennai- 8
Office : 044 – 2819 3778
Fax : 044 – 2819 3035
E-Mail Id : govtmuse@tn.gov.in

Foreword

Thiru N. Harinarayana Endowment Lecture was instituted in the year 2014 by his wife Tmt. Jothirmayee, residing at No.120/154, 1st Floor, Flat No.4, Big Street, Triplicane, Chennai-5, by depositing a sum of Rs.50,000/-. The G.O.Ms.No.134, Tourism, Culture & Religious Endowment (MA1) Department dated 13.07.2015 was issued to conduct an Endowment Lecture in the subjects viz., Archaeology, Numismatics, Anthropology or Museology. Thiru N.Harinarayana, former Director, Department of Museums, Chennai, was instrumental in introducing a course on conservation entitled “Care of Museum objects”. His way of lecturing was very interesting, informative and appealing to the students. His books on Museology, Archaeology and conservation are valuable sources to the students and scholars.

The lecture on “Early Medieval Andhra Desa: the Abode of Tamils” delivered by Dr.P.Sumabala, Assistant Professor, as an Endowment lecture constituted in the name of Thiru N. Harinarayana held on 31-03-2017 is brought out as a bulletin of the Department of Museums, Chennai

This paper deals with the close vicinity of the Andhra Desa and Tamil Nadu with distinct linguistic and cultural conflicts, dynastic alliance and peaceful reciprocate settlements. The author mentioned the literary evidences for the construction of Siva and Vaishnava Temple in Dravidian Style in Andhra Desa. The literary evidences shown in this paper is very much useful to glean the information on the migration of communities and their settlement with subsequent transformation for the new environment between Andhra Desa and Tamil Nadu.

Dr. P.Sumabala is an Assistant Professor, Department of Historical Studies at Quaid- E-Millat Government College for Women, Chennai. She has published more than 70 articles on Indian History, Culture, Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics in Indian and International Journals. She also authored a book, “Cultural Confluences in South Indian History”.

I hope it will be a useful lecture in understanding our past history and culture to the students, scholars and the general public, who have keen interest in these fields. I appreciate the speaker for her presence and deliverance and for having given the script of the lecture in time to enable us to release this bulletin and for delivering an interesting and informative lecture. The author is fully responsible for the views expressed in this paper.

I am sure that this bulletin will be a valuable addition to the library of historian, students and scholars

Date: 31-03-2017


Director

EARLY MEDIEVAL ANDHRA DESA: THE ABODE OF TAMILS

It is indeed a great privilege and an honour for me to be invited to deliver the First Sri N. Harinarayana Endowment Lecture. I express my sincere thanks to the Director of Government Museum, Chennai for considering me to deliver this prestigious endowment lecture instituted in the name of late Sri N. Harinarayana, former Director of Government Museum, and Chennai. I have fond memories of Sri N. Harinarayana, who was instrumental in introducing a course on conservation entitled 'Care of Museum Objects' when he was the Curator of the Chemical Conservation and Research Laboratory of the Government Museum, Chennai. I had the honor of completing this course. I had the privilege of attending his lectures on conservation at the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, where I was a student and later completed my Doctorate. His way of lecturing was very appealing to the students. His books on Museology and Conservation and Archives Keeping are very valuable to the students of History, Archaeology and Museology. With immense pride and a sense of gratitude I would like to present my lecture on Early Medieval Andhra Desa: The Abode of Tamils.

The annals of history reveal that numerous migrations have taken place in India during different periods of history. Diaspora is a Greek word meaning scattering or dispersion. A diaspora is "the movement, migration, or scattering of people away from an established or ancestral homeland" or "people dispersed by whatever cause to more than one location", or "people settled far from their ancestral homelands". Recently scholarship has distinguished between different kinds of diaspora, based on its causes such as imperialism, trade or labor migrations, or by the kind of social coherence within the diaspora community and its ties to the ancestral lands. Some diaspora communities maintain strong political ties with their homeland. Other qualities that may be typical of many diasporas are thoughts of return, relationships with other communities in the diaspora, and lack of full assimilation to the host country. Human migration is the movement by people from one place to another with the intentions of settling, permanently in the new location. The movement is often over long distances and from one country to another, but internal migration is also possible; indeed, this is the dominant form globally.

Movement of people from one territory to the other, their adjustability and adaptation to the new surroundings, their contribution to their new territory and the cultural changes that the region develops as a result of their settlements - is a fascinating subject for study.

A cursory glance through the pages of history will disclose that frequent migrations took place in India during different times. Migration is a complex process spread over time and space and it is to be understood that the events bearing on migrations cannot be viewed in isolation either chronologically or geographically. Migrations normally take place due to various factors like enterprising attitude of people to go to new regions to develop their prospectus, adventurous spirit of people to face challenges in new regions, compelling situations like political and social oppression from the rulers and fellowmen respectively religious persecution, economic disabilities and natural calamities. It is generally believed that peaceful migrations of people in order to improve their prospectus in the new regions yielded greater results. Such migrations benefit both the migrants and the regions.

A study of the migration of communities would enrich our understanding of the complex dynamics of social, cultural and political changes that took place in the history of South India and on how these settlers adjusted and subsequently transformed themselves and their new environment. Socio-cultural changes and belief systems with religious import at the community level may have been necessary to effect changes on a larger scale, both spatially and in time, notwithstanding the linguistic barrier. Hence, a study of these undercurrents, subject as they are to political activity, would provide fascinating insights into human settlement through the ages.

Here are the glimpses of the study made on the migration of communities from ancient Tamilagam into Andhradesa, based on literature, inscriptions, coins, and monuments.

Among the Tamils who live in the present-day Andhra Pradesh, three sections can be generally distinguished:

- Historical migrants.
- Border population or those who live in the districts bordering Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.
- Recent migrants who are mostly concentrated in major cities and towns as executives, traders, entertainers, government, and private sector personnel, professionals and wage-labourers.

As per 2001 census, speakers of Tamil language formed the third largest ethnic group in Andhra Pradesh (1.01% of the total population). The speakers of Tamil language form the native ethnic group of Tamil Nadu, the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh. Tamil people

are largely concentrated in the southern districts of Chittoor and Nellore which border Tamil Nadu. The taluks of Kalahasti, Chandragiri, Chittoor, Ponganur, Puttur and Palamaner were separated from the Tamil-majority North Arcot district of Tondai Nadu (Tondaimandalam) division of Tamilagam on 1 April 1911 to form Chittoor district. The taluk of Tirutani and Pallipattu sub-taluk of Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh were transferred to Madras State in exchange for territories from the Chingelput (Chengalpattu) and Salem Districts on 1 April 1961 as per the Andhra Pradesh and Madras Alteration of Boundaries Act 1959. Today, there are large Tamil populations in Chittoor, Puttur, Tirupathi, Tirumala and Satyavedu. Nellore, Vijayawada Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad (Telangana State) also have significant Tamil populations.

The close vicinity of the Andhradesa and the Tamilagam with distinct linguistic and cultural developments rendered them vulnerable to mutual conflicts, dynastic alliances, and peaceful reciprocate settlements. The border areas in both the regions - the present Nellore and Chittoor districts in the southern part of Andhra Pradesh, and Tiruvallur, Vellore and Dharmapuri districts in the northern part of Tamil Nadu attest the development of Andhra-Tamil composite culture. It is a well-known fact that the contacts between these two countries existed due to political reasons, among other factors.

The northern boundaries of Tamil Nadu, consisting of *Aruvanadu* or *Aruva vadatalaindu* in the Sangam age, never had clear cut political boundaries in Tamil and Telugu speaking regions. The Tamil speaking people were referred to as *Aravavaru* (or *Aruvalar* - people of *Aruvanadu* or *Aruva vadatalinadu*) and the Tamil language was referred to as *Aravam* by the Telugu speaking people¹. The earlier rulers of Tondaimandalam (present Chittoor, Kanchipuram, Tiruvallur and Vellore districts) were always in conflict with the rulers of the Telugu region.

- The political contacts between Andhradesa and Tamilagam seems to have existed around 1st century onwards as known from the hostile and friendly relationships existed between the Satavahanas and the Cheras; discovery of Satavahana coins on the coastal regions of Tamil Nadu;² hostile and cordial relationships that existed between Pallavas and their contemporary rulers in Andhra country; the Telugu titles of Mahendravarman;³ Telugu Chodas' claim of their ancestry from Karikala Chola;⁴ Nanne Choda's claim in his Kumarasambhava as to be the lord of Uraiyur; the matrimonial alliances between the

Telugu Chodas and the Pandyas; the similarity between the names of Cholas and Telugu Chodas and between Renati Cholas and the Pallavas.⁵

- The migration of common people from Tamilagam to Andhradesa and their settlement in Andhradesa seems to have been started from the period of Cholas as evident from the inscriptions of Virachoda – Chelluru and Pithapuram copper plates issued during 21st and 23rd regnal years of Kulottunga I, corresponding to 1091 and 1093 A.D.⁶
- The matrimonial alliances between Cholas and the Chalukyas of Vengi further strengthened the relations between these two regions and resulted in the movement of people from one region to the other.
- The spread of Vaishnavism following the preachings of Ramanuja further paved way for the migration of people from Tamilagam to Andhradesa.
- The rule of Vijayanagar over the whole of South India provided an opportunity for the movement of different communities between these two regions.
- However, the movement of people from Tamilagam to Andhradesa appears to be intermittent. During the course of history both these regions passed into the hands of Muslims. Later, when the British became the rulers of India, these regions were united as Madras Presidency. During freedom struggle the people of these two regions united and fought for the national cause. Even after the independence both these regions remained united until the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. The political contacts paved way to the social, economic and cultural contacts.

After the Pallavas the Cholas came to power with their capital at Tanjavur. Rajaraja became prominent with his conquests and zeal for the creation of art forms. The thirty years of his rule constitute the formative period of Chola imperialism. The Chola kingdom grew under him into an extensive empire efficiently organized and administered, rich in resources and possessed of a powerful standing army and navy.

The contemporary rulers at Andhradesa were the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi (the present Peda Vegi in Eluru Taluk in West Godavari district). Their kingdom comprised of the whole coastal region extending from modern Visakhapatnam in the north to Mannaru in the south.

The cordial relationship between the Andhra and Tamil countries started when the Vengi Chalukyas entered into matrimonial alliance with the Cholas. During these regimes,

the Andhradesa and Tamilagam came much closer by a series of dynastic alliances culminating in the succession of Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) to the Chalukya-Chola empire, embracing both the regions. The inscriptional and other sources pertaining to Chola-Chalukya period in Andhradesa disclose the Chola influence on political, administrative, social, cultural and religious aspects between 10th and 13th century A.D. The usage of Tamil words in the temple rituals, in the religious practices, the names given to the administrative divisions and the personal names, the art and architecture further reveal the Chola influence on Andhradesa.

Saktivarman I and Vimaladitya, the two sons of Danarnava of Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi, sought political asylum in the Chola country after the death of Danarnava in the hands of Telugu Choda Jatachoda Bhima. Rajaraja Chola, who was an ambitious monarch with a commendable foresight, realized the strategic importance of the Vengi kingdom and supported the cause of the Eastern Chalukya princes. By defeating Jata Choda Bhima he restored the Vengi throne to Saktivarman I, reducing in that process, from an autonomous state of Vengi to one of dependence on the Chola monarchy to some extent. This change in the political status of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom had a great impact on the toponymy of the Andhra country.

It is interesting to note that some of the epithets of the Chola monarch were given as second names to the towns included in the Vengi country. Thus Draksharama, Melpadi, Kalahasti, Tummuru and Sulluru came to be known also as Jananathapuram, Rajasrayapuram, Mummudisolapuram, Jayangondasola Chaturvedimangalam and Singalantapuram respectively.

The Chola-Chalukya relationship was further strengthened by the marriage of Kundavai, daughter of Rajaraja I with Vimaladitya (1011-18 A.D.) who succeeded his brother Saktivarman. Vimaladitya's son Rajarajanarendra (1019-61) married Ammangadevi, daughter of the Chola king Rajendra I (1012-44 A.D.). His reign was quite restless as he was often confronted by his half-brother Vijayaditya to whom he lost his kingdom. His rule ended with the annexation of the Andhra country to the Chola Empire by Rajendra II alias Kulottunga I, son of Rajarajanarendra and Ammangadevi. Since Kulottunga I had spent many years in the Chola country he chose to remain in that country itself and appointed his sons to rule over the Vengi kingdom as his viceroys. During his rule the Kalinga kings invaded the

Andhra country twice. Kulottunga I successfully retaliated and to commemorate his victory he renamed Visakhapattanam as *Kulottunga chola pattanamu*.⁷

The Telugu Chodas claim their descent from Karikala Chola.⁸ Some of their personal names and their titles bear resemblance to those of Cholas. They also founded a city named after their ancestral home of Uraiyyur near Barugur. Nanni Choda in his *Kumarasambhava* claims to be the lord of Uraiyyur. The migration to the Telugu country by these Cholas seems to have been taken place in the fourth century A.D. following the conquest of Samudra Gupta.

The Telugu Chodas were mainly feudatories. The Renati Cholas, feudatories of Pallavas bore the names and titles, which resembled those of Pallavas. The Telugu Choda ruler Srikantha's daughter Aggalanimmati was the queen of the Pandya ruler Srimara Srivallabha who gave birth to his second son Parantaka Viranarayana. Under Jata Choda Bhima the Telugu Choda kingdom recovered much of their power and glory. However, he was hostile towards Rajaraja Chola and the Vengi Chalukya Saktivarman. Rajaraja killed him. During Kulottunga III the Telugu Choda Nallasiddha rose in revolt against the central authority and even brought Kanchi under sway for a short period.

The Telugu Chodas became independent during Rajaraja III and Rajendrea III and were friendly with the Chola monarchs. Gandagopala defeated Kopperunjinga and Hoyasala Somesvara and established Chola in his position. Kakatiya Ganapati (1249-50 A.D.) and Prataparudra (1316 A.D.) captured Kanchipuram for a short period. The Kakatiyas were defeated by Sambuvarayas who in turn were succeeded by the Vijayanagar rulers.

Tamil Migrations to Andhradesa during Chola-Chalukya period

Close investigations of the epigraphical records of the Andhra country disclose the migrations of brahmanas from Tamilagam to Andhradesa. In the days of Chalukya-Chola rulers, there was a migration of several families from the south. Their mother tongue was Tamil. Some of them settled in the rich and fertile delta of the Godavari as is illustrated by the Pithapuram plates of Vira Rajendra Chola. These plates record the royal gift of lands to a number of *Brahmanas* who hailed from the Tamil country. These *Brahmanas* seem to have migrated to Andhra, when Vira Choda was sent to that country as viceroy by his father.⁹ These plates record the royal gift of lands to a number of brahmanas who hailed from the Tamil country. This record referred to the personal names of the *Brahmanas* who settled

at Andhra region. The king, who was a *Parama Bhattaraka* made an endowment to 554 *Dravida Desa Brahmanas*. The large portion of Vaishnava names among the donees further suggests that about this time the Ramanuja faith counted many devotees, who adopted as their names the Tamil equivalents of Sanskrit names, which occur in the sacred works of Vaishnavas.¹⁰ These *Brahmanas* bore Tamil names like *Veneya Kuttan*, *Ulahamandan Bhatta*, *Karimanikya*, *Chentaamarai Kannan*. These names indicate that Vaishnavism penetrated deeply into Andhra region and gained popularity.

This also indicates that an important reason for the migration of Tamil people to *Andhra Desa* was religion. The gradual shift from Saivism to Vaishnavism by some of the rulers of this period was mainly due to the visits and efforts put forth by Sri Ramanuja and his disciples. With the preachings of Ramanuja, Vaishnavism underwent a radical change in Andhra. During Chalukya-Chola period the strongholds of Vaishnavism were Sarpavaram, Bhimavaram, Simhachalam, Srikurmam, Bapatla, Macherla, Mangalgiri and Srikakulam. The Vaishnavism of Andhra was influenced by the southern school of Vaishnavism. The use of Tamil words like *Amritapadi*, *Tirumanjanam*, *Devakarmi* which occur in the inscriptions of the period shows how profoundly the Tamils influenced the Vaishnavite religion of Andhras. An inscription at the Rajanarayana temple at Bhimavaram records the several shares to the brahmanas who were mentioned as *Tiruvaradhanaseyvaru*, *Tirugakarchiseyu Brahmana*, *Tiruvadai vinnapamu cheyuvuru*, and *Tiruvamudipadi Rajasamudra Brahma Narayana*. By this evidence, it is apparent that the religious book of songs *Tiruvaymoli* which was popular in Tamil country was introduced in the temples of Andhradesa.

Anantacharya in his *Prapannamrita* recorded the visits of Ramanuja to places like Sri Kurmam and his attempts at converting the rulers of the region to Vaishnavism. Some of the Sri Vaishnava families like *Bhattas* and *Kandadais* from *Tamilagam* settled in several parts of *Andhra Desa*. Most of the inscriptions of the Vaishnavite temples end with the epithet "*Sri Vaishnavula Raksha*". Ramanujacharya, Ananda Tirtha, Narahari Tirtha and Padmanabha have done much for the growth of Vaishnavism in the northern Coastal Andhra. Krishnamacharya, who lived earlier to Annamacharya, composed a number of sacred songs and spread Vaishnavism in and around Simhachalam.¹¹

A number of regional chiefs of this region between 12th and 15th centuries came under the influence of Vaishnavism. Parasara Bhatta of Srirangam played a pivotal role in the propagation of Vaishnavism at Korukonda. He migrated to this region and influenced the

regional chiefs. The Bhattars were an illustrious family of scholars at Srirangam. Ramanuja's principal disciple Srivatsa Chihna Misra was the founder of this family at Srirangam. He was known in the Sri Vaishnava chronicles as Kurattalvar. He was born in the village of Kuram, near Chingleput. His son Parasara Bhatta was the pontifical head of Srirangam, who was chosen by Ramanuja. In that noble family was born Parasarabhattar, the fifth or seventh in the descent, who came on a tour to the Godavari region and initiated the local chiefs to Vaishnavism.

The Manchikonda chiefs of Korukonda near Rajamahendravaram (Rajahmundry) in East Godavari district were the pioneers in patronizing Vaishnavism in the Godavari region. The Manchikonda chiefs came to power after the fall of the Kakatiya dynasty. Mummadinayaka and his brother Singamanayaka were the staunch followers of Vaishnavism. The Korukonda pillar inscription of 1353 A.D., Srirangam plates of 1358 AD and the inscriptions dated 1364, 1382 and 1388 AD at Simhachalam mention that these rulers favoured Vaishnavism. Mummadinayaka changed his name to Rangavardhana, after he was initiated to Vaishnavism by Parasarabhatta.¹²

The Mallavaram plates of Parantaka Chola record the gift of two hundred and sixty parts of land to two hundred and eighty-four *Brahmanas*, well versed in *Vedas* and *Puranas*. The names of the *Brahmanas* mentioned in this record are mainly the Tamil names and it seems most of the donees were *Brahmanas* from Tamil country. Such abundance of the Tamil names in the list of the donees of Vira Choda *Chaturvedimangalam* leads to the inference that a large-scale immigration of Tamil *Brahmanas* into Andhradesa must have taken place during the reign of Kulottunga I.¹³ They were the ancestors of sub-sects of the *Dravida Brahmanas*. Even today, the Tamil *Brahmanas* who had settled in the Andhra area during the reign of Chalukya-Cholas are known as the *Dravida Brahmanas* and they are referred to after their native village as *Arama Dravidulu*, *Peruru Dravidulu*, *Konasima Dravidulu*, etc. These Dravidian *Brahmanas* were encouraged to migrate from Tamil country to coastal Andhra by the Chola emperors for propagation of religion and for revenue administration. Some of the Tamil families settled in Bapatla, Kammanadu and their neighbourhoods. These Dravida Brahmanas had adjusted to their new surroundings and adopted the local culture, customs and manners.

Literature

The literary evidence supports the migration of Tamil communities in Andhra country in this period. During the times of Chalukya-Cholas most of the learned men seem to have been proficient in different languages. Nannayya in his Andhra *Mahabharatamu* used several Tamil words like *kolai*, *kittu* etc. He also mentioned about the *Talaichchangam*, *Idaichchangam* and *Kadaichchangam*. The Telugus also followed the Tamil tradition of describing the poets as *kavi*, *madurakavi*, *chitrakavi* and *vittarakavi*. The use of *monai* and *edugai* in the poetry was common to both Telugu and Tamil poets. Influence of Tamil literature on *Kumarasambhavam* by Nanne Choda can be perceived. In the story of the birth of Ganesa with elephant face, influence of *Tevaram* can be traced. Many Tamil words were found in *Kumarasambhavam*. Palkuriki Somanatha, author of *Panditaradhya Charitra*, was proficient in Andhra, Tamil, Kannada, and Sanskrit languages. He was the first poet to introduce the 63 Nayanmars to Telugu literature based on *Tiruttondattogai* by Sundaramurinayanar. His *Basavapuramam* was translated into Telugu (anonymous author). Dhurjati in his *Kalahastimahatmyam* used several Tamil words like *angayar kanni*, *Unnamalai* etc. He was the first poet to mention about the Sangam poet Nakkiran in his work. *Vijnaneswariyam* written by the poet Ketana of thirteenth - fourteenth century is a work based on the Sanskrit work *Mitakshara* written in the eleventh century by Vijnaneswara, a commentary on Yajnavalkya Smriti. His work is not a literal rendering of the original. We find in this work mention of some communities in Andhra like *MurikinatiBrahmanas* and *Tamila Brahmanas*, who migrated from the Tamil region.¹⁴ (Even today, the Tamil *Brahmanas* who had settled in the Andhra area during the reign of Chalukya-Cholas are known as the *DravidaBrahmanas* and they are referred to after their native village as *Arama dravidulu*, *Peruru Dravidulu*, *Puduru Dravidulu*, *Konasima Dravidulu* etc.) Both Tamil and Telugu *vaishnavites* considered *Nalayira divya prabandham* as sacred *Dravida Veda*. Krishnamacharya (13th century) translated Nammalvar's verses into Telugu. He initiated the translation of Alvars' *Pasurams* into Telugu. Tallapaka Annamacharya and his grandson Chinnanna (Tiruvengalanatha) translated the *Pasurams* of 12 *alvars*. Tiruvengalanatha in his *Paramayogivilasam* illustrated the lives of 12 *alvars*, Nathamuni, Yamunacharya and Ramanuja. Telugu literature flourished from the beginning under royal patronage.

Migration of Noble families

The political instability during the 9th-14th centuries led to the migrations of royal families to this region and vice-versa. A number of wars were fought between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, which resulted in the migrations of certain noble families to the Andhra country. An example of such migration can be cited from the copper plate inscription of Katlaparru grant of Gunaga Vijayaditya (849-892 A.D.) It records the endowment of the village Katlaparru in Vengi-Vishaya by the king to his brahmana general Rajaditya, who distinguished himself in the battles. Rajaditya was the son of Peddana and great grandson of Kumaramurti who was the master of the two villages Kaluru and Vayaluru (in Kanchipuram district, Tamil Nadu). It is stated that Kumaramurti migrated to the Vengi country, as he could not bear the contemptuous treatment of the then Tondaiman king Kaduvetti and so migrated to Andhra country and settled at Undi (in West Godavari district).¹⁵

Migration of Brahma-Kshatra Kula

Two inscriptions of Rajaraja II at Bapatla refer to a family of settlers of the Brahma-Kshatra Kula (*Brahmanas* who abandoned the traditional occupation of their caste and took to Kshatriya occupation). They migrated from the village of Brihadankura in Tondaimandalam. Members of this sub-caste obtained distinction as physicians, poets and philosophers.¹⁶

Migration of Royal Officials

There are eleven Tamil records inscribed on the walls of the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama. These were inscribed by Surachari alias Vira Rajendra Choda Achari of Dakaremi, whose name was written in Telugu characters at the end of the records¹⁷. From this, it is clear that Surachari was the official scribe and he had the official name as Virarajendra Choda, obtained from the reigning Chalukya-Chola king, Kulottunga I whose princely name was Rajendra Choda before he sat on the Chola throne. Though the official scribe had inscribed these records of the Tamil officers in Tamil language and script, he preferred the local language, Telugu, in writing his name at the end of the records.¹⁸

These inscriptions are dated in the regnal years of Kulottunga I (as found in Tamil region) and not in the regular Saka era as was mentioned in the Telugu records of the same king.¹⁹ They range from his 25th regnal year to 49th regnal year. Two of these records mention the chief queen of Kulottunga I as *bhuvanmulududaiyal* or *avani mulududaiyal* and not by name. We find such references to the chief queen of Kulottunga I, Madhurantaki in the Tamil records of Chola mandalam and not in any of the Telugu records of king in Andhradesa.²⁰

It is evident from these records that Valavanmattanda Muvendavelan and Mudigonda Vatsarayar of Cholamandala were the important Tamil military officers of Kulottunga I.²¹ It is known from the other records of same place that they accompanied Pallavaraya, a *sandhivigrahi*, a great general of Kulottunga I, at the successful conquest of Kalinga. These records reveal that they made several land donations²².

Migrations During Vijayanagar Period

There is another wave of migration of Dravida Brahmins during Vijayanagara times. Some of them were still speaking Tamil and at the same time studying and propagating Telugu with a fanatic approach. Some families of the Puduru Dravida Brahmin community hailed from Nelatturu, a village situated about 15 km to the east of Nellore town. Mamidipudi Agrahara, near Nelatturu was donated by the Vijayanagara king Sadasivaraya at the recommendation of Tirumalaraya, the brother of Aliya Ramaraya about the middle of the 16th century to a sect of Tamil speaking brahmans (now called Puduru Dravida brahmans) for propagating the tenets of Sri Bhashya of Ramanujacharya. The village is situated in proximity of Muttukuru and Krishnapattanam on the east coast. Vaishnavism was the dominant religion under the Vijayanagar kings from the period of Saluva Narasingaraya. The Puduru Dravida Brahmins had specialised in teaching *Visishta Advaita* tenets and got Agraharas for that purpose. The Puduru Dravida subsect was *Visishtadvaitic* in origin and the wearing of the *Vadagalai Namam*, bears ample testimony to this.²³

The term Puduru Dravida is a new name, newly coined in recent years to distinguish them from the various Telugu and other Dravida Brahmana sects in Andhra. Pudur was founded after the formation of the Venkatagiri principality in the 17th century, when the Velama chiefs came southwards from Telangana region, from places like Warangal, Devarakonda and Rajukonda via Guntur to Chittoor and Nellore regions. Tirumala and Tirupati was their stronghold and families like Vedam, Komanduru, Sirobhushanam, Bandapalle (Mamidipudi) and the like had *agraraharas* all over the district. The Vaishnava connections and practice of

wearing Namam by these families are too well known that they need no special mention. The well known surnames of the Puduru Dravida Brahmanas include Vavilla, Puranam, Vedam, Chadalavada and Alladi.²⁴

Mangalampadu, a tiny agraharam near Sullurpet on the Chittoor-Nellore inter-district border, has a proud history that runs into over four centuries, and has been a vibrant centre for Vaishnavite philosophy. Given as an endowment by Rangaraya of Chandragiri empire in 1602 AD to Sri Rangaraja Iyengar, son of the renowned Kidambi Jagannathacharya Swamy, for his erudite scholarship in Ubhaya Vedanta, this village has been the nerve centre of traditional worship and academic accomplishments. The endowment was made in the presence of God Venkateswara at Tirumala. The Vaishnavites of this village largely belong to Kidambi, Kandadai and Eyunni lineages.²⁵

Temples

In medieval period Andhra *desa* witnessed the construction of numerous temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. We can see that these were constructed in *Dravidian* style. For example, Sri Kurmam a famous temple in Srikakulam district, is said to have been originally a Saivite was changed into a Vaishnavite by Sri Ramanujacharya.²⁶ The architecture of the temple leads to the conclusion that the temple was built during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. The main *vimana* over the *garbhagriha* is decidedly of the Chola style with the peculiar pyramidal tapering design, characteristic of the temples built in the days of Rajaraja Chola. The Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama is a famous temple and is recognized as one of the five *Arama kshetras* of Andhra *desa*. The temple is a perfect and harmonious blend of the Chalukyan and Chola styles of architecture. The Bhismeswara Temple at Samarlakota, one of the Pancharama temples, also contains the *Dravidian* architectural features. The Ananta Bhogeswara temple at Kolluru in Tenali Taluk is a small temple built strictly according to the conventional Chola style of architecture in 10th-11th century A.D. The *vimana* and the general lay out of the temple bear testimony to this. Most of the temples in Chittoor district are constructed during Chola period. These temples are found at the Bokkisampalem, Jogimallavaram, Kalavagunta, Kattamanchi, Kanipakkam, Mogili, Kapilathirham, Laddigam, Vaviltota, Yatavakili, Sri Kalahasti, Tondamanadu etc. The Chola temples in these places are simple in plan and modest in scale. But most of the Chola temples which were originally small in size, were amplified by the additions like the *mandapas*, small shrines and *gopuras* in the Vijayanagara period as we see at the temples of Tirumala. Tirupati.

Tiruchanur, Kapilatirtham, Sri Kalahasti, Kattamanchi, Kanipakkam, Kalavagunta, Velkuru etc. The Tamil inscriptions in all these temples provide ample evidence for the Tamil influence in these regions.

Place Names and Territorial Divisions

The study of the place names in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu reveal the migration of people in these areas. A subordinate of Kalyani Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, named Kanduri Bhima Choda issued an inscription, which mentions two merchant guilds, namely, *Aruvala* (Tamil) *nagaramu*, and Telugu *nagaramu* in Peruru (Nalgonda Dt.). It also refers to the street of the Tamil merchants as *Aruva nagarapu vidhi* and refers to their active participation in the temple festivals along with the Telugu *nagaramu*. These Aruva merchants have constructed a temple in Perur and called it *Aruva-nagaresvara*. As the term Aruva indicates to the Tamils, it may be presumed that the Tamil merchant communities migrated to Perur and successfully established themselves in the village of Perur.

In the inscriptions of Chola-Chalukya rulers we come across the names of several territorial divisions with prefixes of epithets of Chola rulers. Saktivarman I and Vimaladitya, the two sons of Danarnava of Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi, sought political asylum in the Chola and by defeating Jata Choda Bhima Rajaraja I restored the Vengi throne to Saktivarman I, reducing in that process, from an autonomous state of Vengi to one of dependence on the Chola monarchy to some extent. The change in the political status of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom during Saktivarman had a great impact on the toponymy of the Andhra country. It is interesting to note that some of the epithets of the Chola monarch were given as second names to the towns included in the Vengi country. Thus Draksharama, Melpadi, Kalahasti, Tummuru and Sulluru came to be known also as Jananathapuram, Rajasrayapuram, Mummudisolapuram, Jayangondasola Chaturvedimangalam and Singalantapuram respectively.²⁷

The Pithapuram plates of Virachoda, one of the sons of Kulottunga I, reveal very interesting information about formation of villages. This inscription records the royal grant of the village Malavelli, together with its twelve hamlets, Ponnatorra and Alami, which were united into one village and named as Virachoda-chaturvedimangalam after the prince. As mentioned earlier, that most of the recipients of this grant were *Brahmanas* from the Tamil country who might have migrated to Vengi along with Virachoda. It may be noted in this context that the suffix *chaturvedimangalam* appended to the name of the newly formed

agrahara is borrowed from Tamil place names. The practice of naming the villages in this fashion continued during the period of the successors of Kulottunga I also. By about the beginning of the 13th century we find a Tamil inscription in Nandaluru in Cuddapah district, dated in the 26th year of Kulottunga III, referring to the village Andappur alias Tyagasamudra *Chaturvedimangalam*, obviously named after the epithet Tyagasamudra of the king.²⁸

For the purpose of effective and easy administration it is imperative to divide any state, kingdom, or empire into units. The territorial suffix *kottam*, which reveals Tamil influence, occurs in the inscriptions of the Telugu country from the 9th century onwards. The Gudimallam plates of Pallava Nripatunga, dated 883 A.D., refer to Tiruvengadakottam. This is stated to have comprised four *nadus* viz., Kudavur or Tirukkudavur-nadu (comprised the villages around modern Tirupati), Viaikuntha-valanadu (more or less the present Chandragiri taluk in Chittoor district.), Tuy-nadu (more or less modern Chittoor taluk in the Chittoor district) and Arrur-nadu (more or less modern Kalahasti taluk in the Chittoor district). Thus, it is clear that *kottam* denotes a fairly big division. Since this appellation is of Tamil origin and was very much in vogue in the Tamil country it is naturally found in those parts of the Telugu country bordering Tamil Nadu.²⁹

The territorial appellation *mandalam* makes its appearance in the Chola period when divisional names such as *Adhirajendra-mandalam*, *Nilagirisola-mandalam*, *Irattapadikondasola-mandalam*, *Jayangondasola-mandalam* came into vogue. The *mandalam* was also a fairly big division comprising many sub-divisions like *valanadus* and *nadus*. For example, the following were some of the sub-divisions, which formed parts of *Jayangondasolamandalam* - *Perumbanappadi*, *Puli-nadu*, *Angadipatta-nadu*, *Tuy-nadu*, *Tiruvengadak-kottam*, *Jayakulamanikka-valanadu*, *Chedikulamanikka-valanadu*, *Pungai-nadu*, *Pakkai-nadu* etc. It is a point of interest to note that *mandalam* denoted a smaller unit than *nadu*. For example, *Malaya-mandalamu* formed a part of *Vengi-nadu*. The appellation *mandalam* was a widely-used term and is found used outside the Telugu country also.

The territorial appellation *valanadu* like that of *kottam* is of Tamil origin. The Chola kingdom was divided into many *valanadus*, which were named after the Chola kings or their epithets. Ever since the Andhra country came under Chola supremacy (12th century) *valanadu* came into existence in that country also. *Valanadu* was a bigger division than *nadu* and smaller than *mandalam*. The divisions *Sakatamantani-nadu*, *Guddavadi-nadu*, and *Prolu-nadu* formed parts of *Gangga-gondachoda-valanadu* (*Gangaikonda chola valanadu*) which

itself was a subdivision within the Kulottungachola-mandalam. The following *valanadus* are referred to in the inscriptions of the Telugu country - *Uttamachoda valanadu* (Guntur district), *Ganggagonda-valanadu* (East Godavari district), *Chedikulamanikka-valanadu*, *Jayakulamanikka-valanadu* (Nellur district) and *Mutti-valanadu* or *Mulki-valanadu* (Cuddapah district).

It is very interesting to note that the Chola kings had the practice of naming the alien territories which they brought under their sovereignty after their own favourite epithets. It is known from inscriptions in Tamil Nadu that the kings of this family named a number of divisions in the Tamil country after the epithets of their choice. The following are a few examples - *Gangaikonda sola valanadu*, *Keralasinga valanadu*, *Pandimarttanda valanadu*, *Rajasraya-valanadu*, *Rajagambhira-valanadu* etc³⁰ The divisions of the Telugu country named after the kings and the epithets of the kings of Chola dynasty are:

Jayangondasola-mandalam, named after the epithet *Jayamgondachola* (the victorious Chola king) of the Chola king Rajaraja I (985-1016 A.D.). This major division was included the southern parts of the Andhra Pradesh and also parts of Tamil Nadu.³¹

Rattappadikondasola-mandalam- The famous Chola emperor Rajaraja I and as also Rajendra I (1012-1044A.D.) are known to have conquered *Irattapadi-seven-and-a-half lakhs*, a division which corresponded to the entire Chalukya empire, in order to commemorate their triumph, assumed the epithet *Irattappadikondachola*. It was this epithet that gave its name to the division which covered the region around Punganuru in the present Chittoor district and the adjoining Chintamani taluk in the Kolar district of Karnataka.³²

Nilagirisola-mandalam - Rajaraja I annexed the Nolambavadi to the Chola empire and renamed it as Nilagirisola-mandalam after his own epithet *Nilagirisola*. This division corresponds to modern Anantapur district in Andhra Pradesh and Bellari, Kolar, and Tumkur districts in Karnataka.³³

Ganggagondachoda-valanadu - This division seems to have been named after the epithet *Gangaikonda* of the Rajendra I who is known to have marched his forces right up to the banks of the river Ganges. It corresponded more or less to the entire East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh.³⁴

Uttamachoda - valanadu - This division owes its name to the epithet *Uttamachoda* borne by the Chalukya-Chola king Kulottunga I (1070-1122 A.D.). It was a fairly big division spread over parts of the Guntur district.³⁵

Adhirajendra-mandalam - This division is obviously named after the Chola king Adhirajendra who ruled between 1067 and 1070 A.D. It corresponds more or less to modern Rajampet taluk in the Cuddapah district.³⁶

Kulottungachola-mandalam - This division is named after another Chola king Kulottunga I (1070-1122). Since it is stated that *Ganggagondachoda-valanadu* and *Uttamchoda-valanadu* formed parts of this division we may conclude that this division included the entire Andhra territory that was under the rule of Kulottunga.³⁷

Yet another historically important and ancient division found mentioned in the Tamil and Telugu inscriptions was **Tondai-mandalam or Tonda-mandalam or Tundira-mandalam**, *tonda* or *tundira* being a synonym of Sanskrit *pallava* (creeper), the name of a well-known imperial dynasty of the Tamil country. Further, this is referred to as *Tuntaka - Vishaya* in some of the Chalukya copper plate grants. This division comprised parts of the present Chingleput, North and South Arcot districts in Tamil Nadu and Chittoor and Nellore districts in Andhra Pradesh. The division *Tonda-mandalam* was also used to denote the entire Chola Empire during the Chola period.³⁸

Conclusion

The Tamils migrated to Andhra region, settled, adjusted and subsequently changed their new setting. They feel quite at home here, adapting themselves happily to local culture, without however, losing their distinct characteristics. The dynasties which maintained close contacts between Tamil and Andhra regions, have issued both Telugu and Tamil records simultaneously. A comparative and analytical study of these records is needed to understand the affinity between these two regions. A detailed investigation into the records - inscriptional, literary, and monumental - is necessary to glean information on the migration of communities and on how these settlers adjusted and subsequently transformed themselves and their new environment.

I thank once again for this great opportunity.

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- ³ C.Meenakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, University of Madras, 1977, pp 17,18.
- ⁴ K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, University of Madras, 1955, p36
- ⁵ Ibid
- ⁶ EI Vol XXVii, p.41; EI Vol V, pp.70ff
- ⁷ SII Vol. V No.66, Vol.VI, No.200.
- ⁸ K.A.Nilknta Sastri, *The Colas*, University of Madras, 1955, p36.
- ⁹ Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV EI Vol V, pp.70ff
- ¹⁰ Pithapuram Plates of Virachoda, p73, EI Vol. V, 1984
- ¹¹ Ramachandra Rao C.V., *Administration and Social Life Under the later Eastern Gangas and Suryavamsa Gajapatis*, p.331
- ¹² SII Vol. X, No.55; ARE No. 44 of 1912; EI Vol.XIV, p.83; SII Vol.VI, No.841; ARE No.284 R of 1899, 1084, 339, 1090, 341, ARE No.44 of 1912
- ¹³ A.P.ARE Cp. No.1 of 1965; N.Ramesan, *Studies in Medieval Deccan*, pp110 ff; EI Vol.V, No.10
- ¹⁴ Ketana's *Vignaneswariyam*, Verses 54-58.
- ¹⁵ ARE A 3 of 1939, *Journal of Epigraphical Society of India* Vol. VIII, p.49
- ¹⁶ SII Vol.VI, No.127&156; SII.Vol.X, No.79.
- ¹⁷ SII Vol.IV, Nos. 1338, 1023, 1024, 1027, 1030, 1246, 1225, 1227, 1285, 1289, 1292, 1339-A. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol.I, pp.15-30.
- ¹⁸ SII Vol.IV, Nos.1025, 1030, 1225, 1285, 1289.
- ¹⁹ SII Vol. IV. Nos. 1224, 1057, 1281, 1306.
- ²⁰ Ibid., Nos.1024, 1285, 1322
- ²¹ Ibid., No. 1023, SII Vol.IV 1339A
- ²² Ibid., Nos.779, 1239, 1281, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol.XXII.No.35. pp.268& 140
- ²³ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol.XXXVIII, Dr.N.Venkataramanayya Commemoration Volume, pp 1,2
- ²⁴ Ibid
- ²⁵ Mangalampadu.org
- ²⁶ Ramesan, *Temples and Legends of Andhra Pradesh*, p.149.
- ²⁷ EI Vol V, No.10; Vol VI, No.35; SII Vol.I; No.39; S.S.Ramachandramurthy, *A Study of Telugu Place Names*, p16
- ²⁸ EI Vol V, pp.70ff; S.S.Ramachandramurthy, *A Study of Telugu Place Names*, p.17
- ²⁹ *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol.XII, pp. 174ff.
- ³⁰ SII, Vol.XIV, No. 171, No.204, No.68, Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy No.276 of ARE, 1926.
- ³¹ Nos.541,556,573,575, of ARE 1906, No.321 of ARE 1912, No.432 of ARE 1929, NDI, Vol.I, p. 219, p.236, SII, Vol.XVIII, No.157.
- ³² EI Vol.XXV, pp.241ff, ARE Nos.202 of 1932,, 553 of 1952, 540 of 1906.
- ³³ EI Vol.XXXI, pp.269ff.
- ³⁴ SII, Vol.V, No.66
- ³⁵ SII. Vol.VI.Nos.135,179,200.
- ³⁶ ARE Nos. 572, 600, 581 of 1907, 239 of 1913, B4 of 1961, 618 of 1907, 106 of 1930.
- ³⁷ SII Vol. V No.66, Vol.VI, No.200
- ³⁸ SII, Vol.VI No.155.